

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

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by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

1918-1948

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Fruits of de Gasperi Victory Depend on Reform

Now that the international excitement and tension surrounding the Italian elections of April 18 and 19 have subsided, temporarily at least, it is possible to appraise some of the tangible results of the dramatic, and highly dramatized, vote. On April 21 Italian Minister of the Interior Mario Scelba announced that the Christian Democratic party had obtained 307 of the 574 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, which gives Premier Alcide de Gasperi an absolute majority. The Christian Democrats also won 130 of the 237 elective seats in the Senate; but, since they have considerably fewer of the appointed or "automatic" Senators who, under the Italian electoral system, must be named to the Senate, than the Popular Front, they will not have an absolute majority in that body. They will, however, be in a position to dominate the Senate through parties now affiliated with them in the government, notably the right-wing Socialists of Giuseppe Saragat.

How Much Did Popular Front Lose?

The final results of the election to the Chamber of Deputies, as made known on April 21, gave the following figures:

Christian Democrats	—12,751,841, or 48.7%
Popular Front	—8,025,990, or 30.7%
Right-wing Socialists	—1,860,528, or 7.1%
National Bloc	—1,100,156, or 3.8%
Monarchists	—729,987, or 2.8%
Republicans	—650,413, or 2.5%
Italian Social Movement	—525,408, or 2.1%
Other parties	—618,644, or 2.3%

The Christian Democrats and the Popular Front are the two most important of the twelve national parties. The National Bloc consists of an alliance between the

Liberals and the Common Man Front, regarded as a neo-Fascist group. The two moderate left-wing parties are Social Unity, composed primarily of the right-wing Socialists of Saragat who support a program of moderate socialism and reject collaboration with the Communists, and the Republicans, led by Randolfo Pacciardi, a veteran of the Spanish civil war and Vice-Premier in the de Gasperi government. On the extreme Right are the monarchists, the nationalists, and the Italian Social Movement, which contains Fascist elements.

That the Christian Democrats won an impressive victory is conceded by the Popular Front, and one of the first repercussions of this acknowledgement has been the report that some members of the left-wing Socialist group headed by Pietro Nenni which collaborated with the Communists in the Popular Front might break away and rejoin the right-wing Socialists. Responsible observers in Italy, however, have already cautioned that the victory of the Christian Democrats does not mean that the danger of communism in Italy is definitely over, or even that the strength of the extreme left-wing parties has decreased very noticeably since the last general election of June 2, 1946.* The Christian Democrats increased their percentage of the total vote for the Chamber of Deputies from 35.2 per cent in 1946 to 48.7 per cent in 1948 making gains, apparently, at the expense of parties to the right. In the 1946 elections the Communists alone won 18.9 per cent of the

vote, but if the votes then estimated to have been won by the left-wing Socialists are counted in, the groups now forming the Popular Front obtained together 32.6 per cent, as compared with 30.7 per cent won by the Popular Front in 1948. This calculation would indicate that, in terms of percentages, the voting strength of the extreme left-wing parties decreased in the last two years by only 1.9 per cent. It should be pointed out that the split in the Socialist party which resulted in the creation of a Right wing headed by Saragat and a Left wing headed by Nenni did not occur until after the 1946 elections. In comparing the two elections, it is important to distinguish between the total vote cast for the Socialists in 1946, and the vote cast in 1948 for the right-wing Socialists on the one hand, and the left-wing Socialists as a component of the Popular Front on the other. At the same time, the Popular Front probably lost a great deal of ground as compared with its position as of January 1948.

More significant for long-term developments in Italy is the fact, revealed in the 1948 elections, that support for the left-wing parties appears to be somewhat on the wane in their former stronghold, the industrial area of Northern Italy, where 46 per cent of the country's voters reside. By contrast, the left-wing parties appear to have gained support in other parts of the country, notably in the traditionally conservative and pro-monarchist South, presumably as a result of their intensive campaign in rural districts for land reform and modernization of agriculture. It is also believed — al-

*Arnaldo Cortesi, "Danger of Communism Still Grave in Italy," *New York Times*, April 25, 1948.

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though final judgment on this point must be withheld until a complete tabulation of "preferential" votes as required by the Italian electoral system—that within the Popular Front the Communists made gains, while the left-wing Socialists slightly lost ground.

Prospects for Stabilization

The over-all picture would indicate that Italy is still far from having developed a strong middle-of-the-road political group or coalition of groups which might effectively counter extremism from Right or Left. It is the hope of many middle-of-the-road Italians who, in this election, voted for the Christian Democrats because of their opposition to communism, that Premier Alcide de Gasperi will use his party's decisive victory at the polls to pro-

ceed immediately with the task of necessary internal reforms. This hope has been reflected in organs of the American and British press. Writing from Trieste in the *New York Times* of April 23, C. L. Sulzberger said: "Now that the Italian elections are over many diplomatic observers feel that the powerful Christian Democratic party must use its popular mandate to clean house internally and improve Italy's position externally. Only by capitalizing on the present situation can Communist dynamism be permanently checked."

In some British circles fear has been expressed that, unless reforms are promptly undertaken, the United States may find that it has underwritten a right-wing *status quo* regime, which over the long run may provoke the kind of explosion

that American intervention was designed to avert. Several Italian Communist leaders have asserted that there would be no resort to "direct action," but riots involving Communists have already occurred in Milan. Commanding an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, de Gasperi could set up a government composed entirely of Christian Democrats. The indications so far, however, are that he wishes to continue the present coalition government composed of Christian Democrats, Liberals, Republicans and right-wing Socialists. Should de Gasperi take advantage of the opportunity given him by the results of the elections, Italy might have the breathing-space it urgently needs to reconstitute, consolidate and develop a "Third Force" of liberalism and moderate socialism. VERA MICHELES DEAN

Russian Concessions on Austria Viewed As Inadequate

The anti-Communist victory in Italy, which promises to be one of the landmarks in the history of post-war Europe, was an event of particular significance for Austria. Already bordered by pro-Soviet states on the northeast, east and southeast, and partly occupied by Red Army troops, Austria would have become even more of an isolated Western outpost if its neighbor to the south had also accepted Communist rule. Now that this threat has been overcome, it is still possible for the Austrians to regain the independence promised them by the Allies as long ago as the Moscow conference of 1943 but thus far denied as a result of East-West tension.

Vienna and Berlin

Recent events in Vienna, however, give the Austrians little reason to believe that Russia and the Western powers are on the way toward agreement on Austria. Although there is nothing new about the occasional outbursts of violence in the Austrian capital between individual members of the occupying forces, Russia's recent efforts to make it increasingly difficult for the Western powers to use the railways, air routes and roads which pass through the Soviet zone surrounding Vienna impair the prospects for a treaty.

To some extent the present crisis in Vienna is a reflection of the greater crisis in Berlin, where relations between Russia and the West are more strained than in any other area of the world except Korea. In addition, however, the struggle for

control of Vienna is directly due to the fact that both sides feel that the Austrian capital—transportation hub of Central Europe and political center of a small country which straddles the borderline between East and West—plays an important part in their rival plans for Europe. Vienna, therefore, like Berlin, is of such unusual importance to the Western powers that they may be expected to refuse to abandon their sections of the city.

Shift in Russian Policy

In apparent contradiction to its stiff anti-Western policy on the spot in Vienna, the U.S.S.R. in London at the meeting of the deputies of the Council of Foreign Ministers has been offering numerous concessions on the Austrian peace treaty. On the long-disputed question of what Austria should be required to pay in order to regain the more than 250 enterprises which Russia has seized during the past two years as "German assets," Russia has reduced its claim from \$200 million to \$125 million. Moreover, while the U.S.S.R. originally insisted that payment be made in a short two-year period, commencing with conclusion of the treaty, the Soviet representatives have now accepted a six-year period beginning in 1950. In addition, the Russians—who have always been particularly interested in Austria's oil wells—have reduced by approximately 5 per cent their original claim to two-thirds of the production and exploratory rights of the famous Zistersdorf oil field near Vienna, and have shown themselves

conciliatory in their proposals for disposing of Danube shipping facilities formerly owned by the Nazis. Agreement has been reached in principle on the question of the kind of army Austria should have for local emergencies, and the Russians in London have indicated that they might accept the 1937 boundaries of Austria despite their previous support of Yugoslavia's territorial claims.

This list of Russian concessions clearly shows that Moscow, for the first time since the end of the war, is eager to sign a treaty with Austria. As recently as December 1947, when the last meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers were being held, the Soviet Union gave no sign that it was in any hurry to arrange an Austrian settlement. Precisely what development during the past four months has caused Russia to alter its policy toward Austria is difficult to determine. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the chief factor dictating the change was the Communist coup in Prague. For with Czechoslovakia, the last of the small states on Russia's western border, completely within the Soviet sphere, Moscow may have felt that it had less need than before for a Red Army bastion in Eastern Austria.

Soviet Concessions Analyzed

Emphasis on Russia's eagerness for an Austrian treaty should not, however, obscure the fact that Soviet concessions in London would by no means lessen Russian influence in Austria. Thus while Russia has accepted the principle that the Austri-

an government should have the right of self-protection, its representative on the Allied Council in Vienna has continued to block proposals for equipping the police effectively. Yet until the Austrian authorities obtain both an armed police force and a small army, they will be incapable of defending themselves, particularly since selected groups of armed Communists in the Russian zone have meanwhile been receiving special training in terrorist activities and sabotage work. Although the membership of these "action committees" is variously estimated by Austrian sources as ranging from 2,000 to 20,000, it is clear that the armed Communist organizations would constitute a serious threat if the Western allies withdrew from Austria under present conditions.

An even more important reason why the Western powers have not been impressed by Russia's concessions in connection with "German assets" is that Russia has thus far reached no agreement with the other Allies on the important question of the conditions under which Austria should regain these properties. From the point of view of the Western powers the amount Russia charges Austria for the return of "German assets" is not as crucial as the precise terms of the Austrian payments. For example, Austria could not possibly attempt to pay the proposed sum of \$125 million in dollars, as demanded by Russia, since in doing so the Austrian government would undertake an unworkable obligation which might subject it to further Russian exactions.

Most important of all, the United States fears that Russia may fail to give an entirely clear title to the enterprises it proposes to return to Austria. The chief reason for this doubt springs from the fact that the present Russian administrators of "German assets" in Austria have recently been increasing the indebtedness of their firms to the Soviet military bank in an apparent effort to establish the basis for some degree of post-treaty control over the Austrian economy. With these considerations in mind, the United States believes it must require far greater concessions from Russia than have been granted in London if the treaty is to assure Austria even a minimum of political and economic independence.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL

FPA Bookshelf

The Cold War, by Walter Lippmann. New York, Harper, 1947. \$1.00

This short book is a compilation of syndicated articles by the well-known political analyst. He criticizes the policy of containing Russia as developed in the article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," by Mr. X, which appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.

The Calculated Risk, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$1.50

A plea for a policy, based on recognizably great risks, that the United States aid in the struggle to help Europe save itself and strengthen the UN as the only sure way to "bring the ship of peace into port."

America's Destiny, by Herman Finer. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$5.00

This book is above all a passionate defense of democracy, written by the eminent English political scientist now teaching at Chicago University. Professor Finer is aware of the imperfections in American society, but believes the world-wide threat of communism can be resisted only when the United States, the world's most powerful democratic state, takes the lead in opposing the Soviet dictatorship and the international Communist movement.

Democracy and Progress, by David McCord Wright. New York, Macmillan, 1948. \$3.50

This is a brilliant analysis of the relation between the economic system and democratic progress in the United States. Chapter X, entitled, "Economic Isolationism and the Capitalist Future," should be read by all who seek to understand the position of this country in the world economy.

The British Commonwealth and World Society, edited by Richard Frost. London, Oxford, 1947. \$4.25

This volume records the proceedings of the Third Unofficial Conference on British Commonwealth Relations held in the spring of 1945. Delegates to the conference emphasized the importance of strengthening Commonwealth relations.

The Reconstruction of Humanity, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston, Beacon Press, 1948. \$3.00

Humanity can be saved from new catastrophes, including more world wars. But in the view of Pitirim Sorokin, former head of the Sociology Department of Harvard University, salvation will not come from dependence on political institutions such as democracy, the United Nations or world government, nor from economic arrangements, whether capitalist, Communist or Socialist in nature. Real remedies, Sorokin believes, lie in tapping the age-old body of morality and wisdom known both to the Orient and Occident.

The Question of the Administration of Italian Colonies in Africa Under Trusteeship, by G. Vedovato, M. M. Moreno and G. Mangano. Firenze, Florence University Center of Colonial Studies, 1947.

Three essays by Italian scholars presenting Italy's reasons for seeking to retain control of its former African colonies under the United Nations trusteeship system.

The Mediterranean, by André Siegfried. Translated from the French by Doris Hemming. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948. \$3.00

A brilliant French analyst gives a fine analysis of the Mediterranean's role in world history and geography.

Land and Poverty in the Middle East, by Doreen Warriner. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1948. 7s. 6d.

The first of a series of "Middle East Economic and Social Studies," this useful book points out the extreme poverty of the peasantry in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, and Iraq. Miss Warriner, who worked in the Middle East Supply Centre during World War II, suggests some needed reforms.

Egypt: An Economic and Social Analysis, by Charles Issawi. London, Oxford, 1947.

A valuable study of the social and economic background of political developments in modern Egypt.

Colonial Agricultural Production, by Sir Alan Pim. London, Oxford, 1946. \$3.25

A study of the contribution made by native peasants and by foreign enterprise to the increasingly important problem of agricultural production in the colonial world.

Liberia, by Charles Morrow Wilson. New York, William Sloan, 1947. \$3.75

A journalist's summary of Liberian history and politics with special emphasis on the work of the Firestone Rubber Company.

Shadows on the Wall, by Krishna Nehru. New York, John Day, 1948. \$2.00

Twelve significant episodes from the author's experiences as a political prisoner in the jails of British India. Each chapter relates the story of one of the prisoners she met and does it in such a way as to throw much light on Indian life.

Two Years with the Chinese Communists, by Claire and William Band. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948. \$4.50

The authors, an English physicist and his wife, escaped from Peiping into Chinese Communist territory immediately after Pearl Harbor. Their account of wartime life in the Chinese Communist area is extremely detailed. While not approving of communism as a philosophy, they were in general highly impressed by the things they saw.

Last Chance in China, by Freda Utey. New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947. \$3.50

A description of the author's observations in China in 1945-46 as a correspondent for the *Reader's Digest*. Laying stress on Russian-American tension, Miss Utey holds that the United States should increase its aid to the Chinese government in order to stop communism.

Russia: The Giant that Came Last, by Joshua Kunitz. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1947. \$5.00

A long-time student of Russian history and culture offers a broad and understanding survey of Russia's development which stops at the Bolshevik revolution.

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• FPA NEWS •

Council Meeting

Emphasis in the New York meeting of the FPA Council of Branches and Affiliates on April 23 and 24 was on service to community programs of adult education. Membership, subscriptions, publications, meetings and speakers, fund raising, publicity and public relations were discussed in the two-day meeting.

Speakers included Mr. Brooks Emeny, president of the Foreign Policy Association, who discussed "The Expanding Responsibilities of Community FPA's and Affiliates, and Their Relation to the Proposed National Program"; Vera Micheles Dean, Research Director, who spoke on "The Responsibilities and Pitfalls of Research"; Miss Frances J. Pratt, director of the Speakers Bureau, whose subject was "Meetings and Speakers"; and Mr. Harry Pierson, representing the Institute of International Education, who discussed "Branches as Service Centers for Foreign Students."

Reports were presented on special projects: Miss Rita Hackett, Cincinnati, membership campaign; Dr. J. Warren Nystrom, Pittsburgh, student radio programs; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Hallstrom, Philadelphia, community meetings; Dean John W. Blyth, Utica, cooperative institute; and Dr. Shepherd L. Witman, Cleveland, community leadership training.

Representatives and their guests were tendered a luncheon by the Foreign Policy Association; a cocktail party by Mr. Eustace Seligman, member of the FPA Board of Directors, and Mrs. Seligman; and a dinner by Time, Inc. At the dinner Panayotis Kanellopoulos, former Prime Minister of Greece, delivered an address entitled "Need for World Organization on a Democratic Basis."

Official representatives at the conference came from Foreign Policy Associations of Boston, Buffalo, Capital District (Albany), Central Ohio (Columbus), Cincinnati, Connecticut Valley (Springfield, Mass.), Detroit, Elmira, Hartford, Houston, Lehigh Valley (Bethlehem, Pa.), Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rhode Island (Providence), Rochester, Shreveport, St. Louis, St. Paul, Syracuse, Utica, and Worcester. There were also representatives from the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco; and the Council on World Affairs, Cleveland.

Mrs. Louise Wright represented the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, which is not affiliated with the Foreign Policy Association; and Miss Andigoni Michalares represented the Akron International Center, which is applying for affiliation.

Association Meetings

TULSA, May 3, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

ALBANY, May 4, *The Outlook for Peace*, Round Table Discussion by FPA members

OKLAHOMA CITY, May 4, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

SPRINGFIELD, May 6, *The Far East in Ferment*, Lawrence K. Rosinger

SHREVEPORT, May 7, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

NEW ORLEANS, May 10, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

Summer Institutes

Many Americans are planning constructive holidays this summer studying international affairs at home and abroad. In the January and April issues of its *News Bulletin* the Institute of International Education listed summer schools abroad. The U.S. Maritime Commission has made available to American and European teachers and students two former troop ships which will make stops at English and French ports between June and October with two calls at Oslo. Full information concerning these sailings can be obtained from the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

Among the institutes on international relations scheduled for those who plan to stay in this country are: June 10-13, National Conference for the Prevention of World War III, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa; June 20-July 17, Mount Holyoke College Institute on the United Nations, South Hadley, Massachusetts. American Friends Service Institutes will be held as follows: June 3-6, San Antonio,

News in the Making

Leaders of North and South Korea are discussing possible terms for unifying their country at a joint conference in the northern zone occupied by Russia. Participants from the southern, United States, zone include, in addition to Leftists, the Rightist leader Kim Koo and the moderate leader Kim Kiusik. Both are boycotting the UN-sponsored elections in the South on the ground that they would lead to permanent division of the country. . . . *Canadian exports* for the first two months of 1948 were up more than 14 per cent above the corresponding period last year. Now that the ERP will make more United States dollars available to many of Canada's European customers, even larger exports may be expected. . . . Despite political tension between the United States and Russia, and demands by some American political leaders for stoppage of shipments of goods to Eastern Europe, considerable thought is being given by the Marshall plan nations to *revival of East-West trade*. It is reported that a group of Western European countries is negotiating with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development concerning a loan of about \$16 million to finance the importation of timber from Eastern Europe.

Texas; June 4-13, Friends University, Wichita, Kansas; June 7-10, Dallas, Texas; June 10-14, Kansas City, Missouri; June 10-18, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa; June 12-19, YWCA Camp, Boone, Iowa; June 13-20, Seattle, Washington; June 14-18, Woman's College, Greensboro, North Carolina; June 17-25, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire; June 18-27, North Central College, Naperville, Illinois; June 20-29, Mills College, Oakland, California.

Foreign Policy Reports

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES—May 1 issue

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES—

May 15 issue

by Eric C. Bellquist—vice-chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of California

25 cents each

Subscription \$5; to FPA members, \$4.